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A Democratic nominee against an independent Democratic candidate, whom you knew to be his superior. In the exercise of your rights as a citizen, you proscribed (pardon the use of your own word,) the whole Whig party, you proscribed that portion of your own party who would not submit to caucus dictation. As a Senator of the United States you assisted in excluding Abolition members of the same body from a place on any of its committees; and now, sir, will you tell me in what respect you are less liable to the charge of proscription than I am? I say that I will not vote for a foreigner or a Catholic. You say that you will not vote for a Whig, or a Democrat who runs against the party nominee; and you will not even let an Abolitionist serve on a committee. I have heard it said, 'oh yes, you can vote as you please, you may vote against a foreigner just as well as against an Abolitionist, but it is very improper to form combinations to exclude foreigners from office.'

I have no particular objection to such reasoning when it comes from some half-baked lawyer who knows no more of his profession as a science, than he does of volcanoes in the moon, and who has only a vague idea that somewhere in the law combinations are declared illegal; but when a man of fair ability utters such things the conclusion is inevitable that he has very little respect for the intelligence of his hearers. It is impossible for a political party to exist without combination. All the objects of a party are effected through combinations. You combined with Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Polk and Pierce--excuse me for mentioning the last--as I did the same thing I hope you will acquit me of malice in the allusion. That man will confer a favor I shall not soon forget who avouches me that it is not just as fair to combine for the purpose of excluding foreigners from office, as it is for the purpose of excluding Whigs or rebellious Democrats. You contended your self with assertion and made no attempt at proof. It is well for your reputation that you did so. Many persons will believe what you say without putting themselves to the trouble of examination; whereas, if you had attempted an argument you would certainly have exposed to the most indignant inquiry the weakness of your position. No learning, and no ingenuity could have saved you from a mortifying failure. You acknowledge an act upon the principle that it is right to exclude Mr. Garrison and his disciples from every office under the government down to the fourth corporal in the militia, because they subscribe to the atrocious sentiment that "the Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death, and an agreement with Hell."

I claim that it is a right to exclude from office those members of the Catholic church who deny the supremacy of the constitution, and acknowledge the power of the Pope to release them from all obligation to support it.

You refuse to support a Whig because you believe his construction of the powers of Congress under the constitution erroneous.

I refuse to support a foreigner because (among other things) not one in five thousand has ever read the constitution, and not one in fifty thousand understands its provisions.

Now, sir, this is an exact statement of your position and of mine. Both of us, doubtless, can give many other reasons for the faith that is in us; but this is the ground-work upon which the whole superstructure is reared. If yours is the offering of patriotic devotion to liberty and the constitution, by what magic does mine become "intolerance," "proscription," and reckless disregard of constitutional duty?

It is true you do not assert that there is anything unconstitutional in the American platform. Your position is too high, and you could not afford to trifle with your reputation; but you give to others with fewer scruples, and less to lose, the sanction of your silence. As long as your opponents confined themselves to general denunciations of the American Order as unconstitutional, they got along smoothly enough. Some people took it for granted they knew what they were saying, and believed them. But specifications are dangerous things when error is to be sustained. Two clauses are relied upon; the first is--

"But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States."

This clause relates entirely to the oath which must be taken by public officers. It places no restriction upon the voter--impose no obligation. The Legislature is denied the right of requiring any religious oath from an officer after his election by the people, but the people themselves retain an unlimited discretion, and it is entirely with them to decide whether a man's religious opinions shall be any bar to his advancement. This relates to elections by the people. The whole Congress cannot require any test oath which the consistency of the officer did not require, but in Executive appointments it is different. The Senate alone can reject its nominees, for their religious opinions, as well as for any other cause, which in their judgment renders the nominations improper. Under the constitution the people have the unqualified right to reject any candidate for their suffrages on account of his religion. The Senate have the unqualified right to reject any nomination sent to them by the President, on account of the religion of the nominee. We propose as voters to exercise

the right which is secured to us, and we desire the election of Senators who will exercise the right which belongs to them. That is all. We are satisfied with the constitution as it is, and propose no change. The other clause is--

"That Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

There is scarcely a clause in the constitution with which a Know Nothing would be more unwilling to part than the very one which is thus quoted against us. One of the chief objections to Catholicism is to be found in its constant struggles to connect itself with the State. Every other denomination of Christians look upon all connection with the government as fatal to the interests of religion. In that Church, alone, a restless longing for power, an insatiable thirst for persecution and blood, induces unremitting efforts to obtain possession of the temporal sword. In guarding against that danger, in seeking to keep the stains of earth far away from the shrine of the Christian Church, the first amendment to the Constitution is an auxiliary no American wishes to lose. The Catholic may perform the exercises of his religion on the public highways, or in the market-places, if he pleases; he may celebrate mass at mid day or at midnight; he may nail a saint or two over his door, or collect a dozen holy relics in his cabinet, and no one will interfere with an objection. The American party make no war upon the Catholic to prevent the free exercise of his religion, but to prevent the possibility of his interfering with the free exercise of our own. Men who have already declared that it is unconstitutional to permit the Bible to be studied in schools, have no further scruples to overcome before declaring it unconstitutional to attend any but a Catholic church. When other arguments fail, it is customary to resort to weak attempts to ridicule the fear of danger from Catholic influence; and in order to make this effectual, the census statistics have been unscrupulously perverted. According to that document, the Baptists provide church accommodations for 3,247,029, the Methodists for 4,333,579, while the Catholics provide accommodations for only 667,082.

The reason of this disparity is plain. The Baptists and Methodists do not build churches for themselves alone; every church will hold more than double as many worshippers as actually belong to the church. Their houses are scattered all over the country, and the whole neighborhood; whether they belong to any church or not, are welcomed when they come.

The Catholic cathedrals, on the other hand are piled up on a scale of such regal magnificence that it is only in the cities and large towns they can afford to build at all. They have not yet the right to tax to build churches for them, and the consequence is, that such a thing as a Catholic church in the country is never heard of. They cannot afford to worship God in the plain, unassuming edifices with which other denominations have dotted the land. They seem to estimate the value of prayer according to the splendor of the temple from which it ascends, and to fear that log cabin supplications would never reach the ears of St. Peter. Their church accommodations, therefore, afford no rule by which to estimate the number of members. The actual number of members in the three Churches is as follows: Baptists (including eight different sects), 992,993; Methodists (including four different sects), 1,779,526; while the Catholics rise to 1,173,700 according to the Baptist Almanac, or 1,334,500 according to another estimate made by the superintendent of the census. This was in 1850. In 1852, Archbishop Hughes gave it as his opinion that there were not less than 3,500,000 Catholics in the United States, and added, "Emigration has no doubt contributed much to this result." Since 1850, the emigration has been immense, and at this day I have very little doubt the Archbishop's estimate is far below the truth. It must be remembered, also, that there are no sects, no schisms among them. They have a common object--they obey a common head.

In all that relates to the advancement of the church they have no scruples, no restraints, and their capacity for mischief is thus increased many fold beyond their actual numbers. Yet we are admonished to let this church alone--to permit it to go on increasing, without opposition, at the present fearful rate. Even Christian ministers have entered the political arena to warn us that persecution will give it new vitality. The serpent is among us--we see it grow day by day--we watch its scalls harden, and still we must not touch it for fear persecution will strengthen it. This is one of these popular errors which have been accepted from generation to generation, because no one thought it of sufficient importance to expose it. It is not only false, it is a libel upon the Protestant faith, and the American character. It presupposes two things repugnant alike to the understanding and the heart. It supposes the Catholic to be the true religion, and applies to it the maxim that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." The great reformer, Knox held no such opinion, stern, sincere, fearless, unswayed by power, unseduced by flattery, he denounced with equal severity the magistrate who tolerated, and the citizen who practiced Romish superstitions. John Wesley was not behind him. The following extract from one of his letters speaks for itself. The disciples of the school he founded would do well to refer to his writings a little more frequently than many of them appear to have done.

"Again, those who acknowledge the spiritual power of the Pope can give no security of their allegiance to any government, but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this; therefore they can give no security for their allegiances."

"The power of granting pardon for all sins--past, present, and to come--is, and has been, for many centuries, one branch of his spiritual power. But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power can give no security for their allegiances, since they believe that the Pope can pardon rebellion, high treason, and all other sins whatsoever. The power of dispensing with any promise, oath, or vow, is another branch of the spiritual power of the Pope, and all who acknowledge his spiritual power must acknowledge this. But whoever acknowledges the dispensing power of the Pope can give no security for his allegiance to any government. Oaths and promises are gone; they are light as air--a dispensation makes them all null and void. Nay, not only the Pope, but a priest has power to pardon sins!"

"This is an essential doctrine of the Church of Rome. But they that acknowledge this cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no security at all; for the priest can pardon both perjury and high treason. Setting their religion aside, it is plain that upon principles of reason, no government ought to tolerate men who cannot give any security for their allegiance to any government, and whose behavior is, in the eyes of the world, no less than a mockery."

"If any one pleases to answer this, and sign his name, I shall probably reply. But the productions of any anonymous writers I do not promise to take any notice of."

"I am, sir, your humble servant,"

"JOHN WESLEY."

"City Road, Jan. 21, 1799."

Knox and Wesley were right. Persecution (if you call it by that name) never aided a bad cause. Henry VIII crashed the power of the Pope in England with scarcely an effort. Bloody Mary revived it. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she laughed at his interdicts, and her subjects followed her example. The law made and re-made Catholicism at pleasure. Ireland is no exception. There indeed they clung to the national faith with more tenacity than elsewhere. But it must be remembered that the laws to suppress it were not Irish laws. The priest found his most efficient ally in the universal hatred of the oppressor. If their own parliament, unfettered by England, had enacted the same statutes, they would have been received without question, and enforced without difficulty. Even as it was, however hateful the source from which the law sprang, it did much to cripple the cause of Rome. Before England changed her policy, and passed what is called the "Emancipation Act," there were but seventeen Jesuits in Ireland. Since that act of toleration the number has swelled to four hundred. A fact so full of meaning ought not to be overlooked, and cannot be misunderstood.

Another objection to this Popish argument against persecution is that it assumes the total depravity of the American people. It says in so many words that they are ready to prove recalcitrant to Heaven if it will advance a party purpose--that because one party assails a religion which they believe to be false and blasphemous, the other party although equally opposed to it, will encourage and defend it, in order to prevent a party injury to themselves, or to inflict one upon their opponents. I think better of my countrymen--I hope they think better of themselves, and that they will repudiate the leaders who, by the use of such arguments plainly show how low is the estimate they place upon public intelligence, and popular virtue.

If all are not professing Christians--if many have grievous sins to atone, there are yet none I trust without the hope of redemption through the Saviour. Blot out that hope, and existence becomes rayless and cheerless. Every flower loses its perfume, and every star that gilds the Heavens speaks only of eternal torture. To barter it away, and for less than a mess of pottage, is a folly too wild, a sin too inexplicable to command my belief upon any human evidence.

Your letter, General, reminded me of the course of the school boy, who in getting his lesson skipped the hard places. Allow me to say, without the least disrespect, that you did a good deal of skipping. Among other hard places, was the claim of temporal power on the part of the Pope. You could not deny, and you would not admit. The denial of any such claim on the part of the Pope was, I think, first made by Mr. Chandler, in the House of Representatives, and you recollect the kind of proof he adduced, and you recollect the kind of evidence he furnished for itself. There would be little need for our criminal courts, if the offender's own statement was sufficient to justify acquittal. I prefer to rely upon testimony of a less equivocal character.

For the first six centuries after the death of the humble fisherman whom the Pope professed to take as their model, and the founder of the Church, they made but little pretension to temporal power. But as time wore on, corruption after corruption and error after error crept in. They

forgot that Peter himself was a married man, and ordained celibacy for the clergy. They forgot that he traveled about on his mission in threadbare garments, with his coat off, and clothed themselves "in purple and fine linen." They forgot his confidence, and surrounded themselves with courtiers. They forgot the humility which induced him to pray that he might be crucified with his head downwards, to avoid an appearance, even in death, of equality with his God, and boldly claimed that they occupied the place "of the true God." The assertion of temporal power was a necessary consequence of that claim, and it has been exercised for a thousand years. "Pope John VIII obliged Charles the Bald to confess that he held his empire by the gift of the Pope." Pope Benedict VIII exacted a like pledge from Henry, Emperor of Germany, as also a promise to obey him "in everything." "Pope Nicholas gave Capua to Richard Geisard and his brother Robert all the lands he might conquer in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. Alexander II proclaimed William the Bastard rightful King of England, and sent him a hair from the head of St. Peter in a diamond ring. Gregory VII excommunicated the Emperor of Germany, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Alexander III forced Frederick to hold his stirrup while mounting his horse. Innocent III deposed King John of England for confiscating the property of the clergy, and imprisoning their convents. Henry VIII of England and Queen Elizabeth were also excommunicated, and their subjects absolved from their oaths of fidelity. In 1810, a papal bull was issued against Bonaparte, and another against Switzerland. In 1855, a like bull has been thundered against the King of Sardinia.

These are but a few cases, selected from the mass of material at hand; many more might be given, but more is not needed. It is a maxim of the church never to be silent when silence is expedient, but never to lose opportunities. In our own land, such was the policy for years, but rapidly accumulating numbers have given their organs a tone of conscious power, and they now speak out boldly in defiance of opposition.

The following extracts are taken mainly from "The American's Text Book." They have not been denied and cannot be.

Brownson's Review says:

"Let us dare to assert the truth in the face of the lying world, and instead of pleading for our Church at the bar of the State, summon the State itself to plead at the bar of the Church, its divinely constituted judge."

The Rambler says: